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583 after the Rosary and when she is usually accompanied only by female relatives. The relatives scream and create a disturbance. The male relatives are summoned at once, either by the female relatives or by any bystander who may be interested enough to do so. The male relatives go in pursuit of the girl and the groom's friends interfere with the chase although they must not use force. They try to block the streets, and sometimes push or trip the male relatives, but they do not hold on to them or strike any blows. If the male relatives of the girl catch the groom before he has gotten the girl to the house of one of his relatives, he must not resist, even though the girl's relatives may abuse him or beat him.

584 Opportunities for courting and for making arrangements are few. The boy may visit the girl's house only on rare occasions, such as the *melebris* before Christmas, although he may occasionally have accompanied his parents on a visit. He also may speak to the girl at the door of her courtyard or exchange a word or two when she is on the streets with her mother carrying water. The best opportunities are the rare occasions when the girl may be allowed on the streets alone in the daytime to visit a relative or to run an errand nearby and especially when she has been allowed to go somewhere with other girls. Sunday afternoon is the main time for courting. A boy uses a [198] special whistle to attract the attention of a girl. If she is with other girls, all stop, and the boy uses signs to indicate which one he wishes to talk to. The other girls go on slowly and the indicated one, if she is interested, lingers behind for a few minutes' conversation.

581 The standards for choice of spouse by a boy are several. A boy wants an attractive-looking girl who is fairly tall and of medium build and who also is industrious and of good family. This means her family is not completely poverty-stricken, her father not a drunkard, and her mother not "perverse" (apparently meaning "immoral"). Also, the girl should be 582 either the same age or a year or two younger than the boy. In a few instances the girl is a ● 587 year or two older. No cases were reported of widows marrying younger men, but sometimes a widower marries a younger woman. One case cited is a man of over 65 who has a wife

582 aged 20. The instance is regarded as excep-
587 tional and as undesirable. As a rule, the boy discusses his choice with his parents or with
584 one of his uncles. Although no specific data
604 could be secured on the subject, from the facts that boys at this age seem to be shy with their parents and that the bride is usually taken to the house of an uncle, it seems likely that uncles are consulted on matters of marriage more commonly than are the parents. Some stated there is no preference for maternal or paternal uncles in this connection; others said the girl is taken to a paternal uncle or, lacking an uncle, a paternal aunt.

After a girl is stolen, only on rare occasions
583 does the marriage not follow. Her parents,
522 however much opposed they may be, must always give their consent, for it is very difficult for girls to get married if they have been stolen and then returned home. As Agustín put it, "they have to wait for a sucker" in order to get married. A youth marrying such a girl is the butt of teasing by all his age mates, even by persons who do not even know his name. In the one case known of a young man who married a girl who had previously been stolen by someone else, the youth is subjected to so much teasing that he is virtually a recluse, either staying in his house when home or working by himself in the woods.

It is generally felt that the municipal authori-
583 ties should force a youth to marry a girl after
[661] he has stolen her. If they do not, the authorities are always suspected of receiving bribes to overlook the case. Informants best acquainted with customary viewpoints, though, stated that the municipal authorities are not required to act unless the parents of the groom make the first formal visit to the girl's parents. In this case the municipal authorities are expected to force completion of the marriage. In actual fact the municipal authorities bring some pressure to bear on youths if the girl's parents lodge a complaint.

The following accounts of stealing girls give additional light on the procedures. The first account was written by Agustín Rangel.

When I first met the groom it was about 2 p. m. (on a Sunday) at the corner of Damas Gambe's store. We walked around for a while and when we were coming down the highway he told me he was going to steal a

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585 bottoms of the pots and to rub their hands on each other's faces, with other horseplay.

This group included the men and the women [178] who had been working in the kitchen. It is said the custom of the kitchen staff dancing with the kitchen utensils is an old one which is rarely observed now. A number of informants had not seen it for many years, and it was not practiced in other weddings observed. The [184] custom is believed to be peculiar to Cherán.

The godmothers, in the meantime, had been seated again. The groom's father gave them each a small pop bottle of *charanda* with a package of Tigres cigarettes tied with gay ribbons to the neck of the bottle. These are provided by grandchildren of the godmothers. The father also gave each grandmother a small green glazed pottery "barrel" with a tiny spout on top and a cup fitting over the spout; these were also filled with *charanda* and the godmothers ceremonially drank a drop or two from the cup and then began pressing it on others. Each person offered a drink took a drop or two. When most of the small supply of *charanda* in the barrels was gone, large bottles were produced and began to circulate in the crowd. The first large bottle was taken to the shed where the bride's male relatives sat.

The dancing now became general, although for a time the elderly women with breads rushed about charging into people who were not dancing and forcing them to dance. Drinking also became general, and numbers soon showed the effects of the liquor. Several expeditions went out for more bread, accompanied now by the godmothers, who danced rather drunkenly in the streets at the head of the processions. Many women accompanying the procession also danced, but the younger women, especially those carrying babies, merely walked along the sides of the street.

The following day the male first cousins took [605] atole to the groom. The atole was made by the youths' mothers, but the boys had to take the maize to the mill to have it ground and get the ingredients for the atole.

The wedding of Samuel Sánchez, described above in somewhat abbreviated form, was one of the extremes of Cherán marriage. At the [587] other end of the scale was the wedding of a niece of Agustín's. The groom, Juan Gerónimo,

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585 587 was a widower but still young. The girl lived with an aunt, for her mother had become a woman of loose morals after having an affair with a worker on the highway and at the moment was in jail in Uruapan for disorderly conduct. The bride's father was dead. Another aunt refused to attend the wedding because she did not approve of the girl's marrying a widower.

In this instance the groom had not stolen the girl but had asked for her, taking bread to the house of the aunt, accompanied by musicians. Agustín, with other relatives of the girl, took her to church for the civil wedding, where she was delivered to the groom's father. She was not returned to her own home and there was no breakfast. As the groom's father was poor, there was no celebration in his house, but at noon the girl's aunt did the best she could to rectify the matter by serving a dinner in her house.

585 At another simple wedding attended, the general forms were gone through in truncated fashion. The dinner was over before 12 o'clock, and immediately following it the groom's father distributed the special breads in the form of crowns. This early distribution indicated that there would be no exchange of clothing on a large scale (although there was a little) and no drinking. There were no music and no dancing, and the affair was over by about 2 p. m.

Another of the weddings observed in some detail presents a number of interesting features. This was the wedding of Samuel Santa Clara, [115] son of the widow, Doña Feliciana, principal informant regarding herbs.

Again, as the families knew each other well and it was certain that the girl's mother, also a widow, would consent, the girl was not stolen. Indeed, Doña Feliciana and her "brothers" went to the girl's house on a Thursday evening and asked for her. There were no music and no marriage manager on this occasion. The following Monday, September 9, Doña Feliciana and all the groom's relatives ate at her house and then went to the bride's house, starting about 2:30 p. m. This hour is early and was arranged for my special benefit so I would be sure to see everything. Unfortunately, I had not been advised of the plan and was not in Cherán that day, but Agustín, who as usual

585 said, "Well, it is custom. The girl was not
forced but went willingly. There is no reason
584 to be angry about this, nor with me, for I am
not concerned in the matter but come to speak
for the parents of the groom. They have come
as is proper to arrange the affair." Late in the
evening the father returned and agreed to the
marriage, but he said little and clearly was
angry.

One aspect of the marriage ceremonies not
182 sufficiently emphasized in the preceding ac-
585 counts is important: the new marriage means
that the two families, in the most extended
602 sense, will constantly cooperate in all sorts of
ceremonial occasions. Thus, the groom's male
relatives will help to move a house or roof a
house, while the bride's female relatives will be
called on to work in the kitchen on the same
occasions. Both families will likewise be con-
cerned with all the subsequent crisis periods in
varying degree, especially when a grandchild
marries at some future date.

The function of the wedding as an occasion
585 for celebration, the release of tensions through
drinking, the provision of diversion with the
dancing, and the general stimulus through ex-
tensive social interaction is very considerable.
For the participants, weddings probably rank
as high or higher than fiestas as occasions for
social contacts and amusement.

A feature most clearly demonstrated in the
585 weddings is the much greater participation of
987 the older women. Young women with children
usually do not take a very active part in the
kitchen work, nor are they leaders in the
exchange of clothing. The old women, on the
other hand, are in the forefront of all activities.
Essentially the wedding is a woman's affair in
many respects. Old women are the most active
in the kitchen. They are the first to start
drinking, although they rarely drink to the
excess common among the men, and they are
the first to dance. Indeed, on older women the
playing of dance music has an almost compul-
sive effect. Time and again, when dance music
is being played, even though it is not time for
dancing, some of the old women will be seen
quietly dancing by themselves in a corner.

585 Although the ceremonies of marriage are
most elaborate in the case of first marriages,
587 often marriages of widows or widowers are

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585 almost as complex, particularly if it is the first
587 marriage of one of the parties. A widow or widower is not expected to marry for 6 months after the death of his or her spouse, but marriage usually occurs soon after that time. Marriage is regarded as the normal state for an adult, and one who does not marry is thought to be queer. "Here they believe that a man without a woman or a woman without a man cannot be either man or woman and they are not respected." Moreover, life is very difficult for the widow or widower. The woman has difficulty getting her fields properly cultivated, even though she may own sufficient property. A man, unless he has relatives who will take him in, also has great difficulty in getting food, for no man knows how to cook. Women do not wish to take a widower as a boarder, fearing either that he will make some attempt on their virtue or that their reputation will suffer. Husbands are also much opposed to such an arrangement, so the widower must marry, if he is to eat decently.

583 In Mestizo Chilchota, Rendón found many similarities with the Cherán wedding customs. The bride is sometimes stolen, sometimes not. If stolen and then not married, the girl finds marriage difficult, and mothers will not let their daughters talk to such a girl. Chilchota residents assert that in the Tarascan villages of La Cañada this is not the case, but such evidence from Mestizos is notoriously unreliable.

Generally the bride is stolen. In Chilchota, Rendón definitely secured the impression that this custom is older than asking for the bride. The bride is taken to the house of a friend or to the godparent of baptism of the bride. According to some women marrying in this way, the marriage was not consummated until after the wedding ceremonies; others said they had relations with their husbands the day they were stolen. If the girl is asked for, rather than stolen, the relatives of the groom take mescal and cigarettes when they visit the bride's parents. They are accompanied by an old man skilled in such matters.

585 The wedding takes place traditionally in the house of the groom, but among the "snobs" it takes place in the house of the bride. Guests take a kilo of salt, a kilo of chiles (preferably dry chiles which are more expensive), several